

Message Text

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SUBJ: MEDIA REACTION TO SECRETARY'S AFRICAN TRIP

REF: OTTAWA 1546

1. IN EDITORIAL VERY LAUDATORY TO SECRETARY APRIL 29, THE GAZETTE (MONTREAL ANGLOPHONE DAILY) SETS FORTH THE PRINCIPAL ELEMENTS OF U.S. POLICY AS ENUNCIATED BY THE SECRETARY ON PRESENT TRIP: "HENRY KISSINGER IS IN AFRICA TO STITCH TOGETHER A SILK PURSE OUT OF THE SOW'S EAR OF PAST UNITED STATES POLICY. JUDGING FROM THE REACTION BOTH IN RHODESIA AND IN THE BLACK AFRICAN NATIONS HE HAS VISITED, THE PRELIMINARY BASTING HAS BEEN HIGHLY SUCCESSFUL.

"IN HIS MAJOR POLICY SPEECH AT LUSAKA TUESDAY, MR. KISSINGER CLEARLY COMMITTED THE U.S. TO 'SUPPORT SELF-DETERMINATION, MAJORITY RULE, EQUAL RIGHTS AND HUMAN DIGNITY FOR ALL THE PEOPLES OF SOUTHERN AFRICA.'

"IF THIS SOUNDS A LITTLE OBVIOUS, ONE MUST REMEMBER THE SHAMBLES TO WHICH AMERICAN POLICY WAS REDUCED AFTER THE INADEQUACY AND IRRELEVANCE OF ITS RESPONSE IN ANGOLA. ONE MUST REMEMBER, TOO, THE AMBIVALENCE THAT HAS GROWN FROM WASHINGTON'S CONFLICTING GOALS ON THE CONTINENT--ITS OWN TRADITION OF ANTI-COLONIALISM LINKED INCONGRUOUSLY TO INDUSTRIAL DEPENDENCE ON AFRICAN RESOURCES AND GOVERNMENT STABILITY.

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"THEORY AND SPECIFICS

"ADD TO THIS ITS JUDGMENT ONLY A FEW YEARS AGO THAT THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS HAD NO FUTURE; ADD THE ELEMENT OF LEGITIMATE CONCERN OVER SOVIET EXPANSION; ADD THE DIFFICULTIES OF AN ELECTION YEAR AT HOME WITH ITS OWN BLACK-WHITE ALIGNMENTS, AND ONE CAN APPRECIATE THE MAGNITUDE AND DELICACY OF MR. KISSINGER'S TASK.

"AT LUSAKA THE SECRETARY NOT ONLY TOOK A THEORETICAL POSITION, HE OFFERED SPECIFICS TO BACK IT UP. HE MADE CLEAR THAT IAN SMITH HAD TO GO--AND WITHIN TWO YEARS. HE PROMISED AID FOR ANY NEIGHBORING STATE CLOSING ITS RHODESIAN BORDER, AN INDUCEMENT TO BOTSWANA THAT HE UNDERLINED WITH \$12.5 MILLION FOR MOZAMBIQUE. HE PROMISED TO TIGHTEN INTERNATIONAL SANCTIONS AGAINST RHODESIA--A HINT TO SOUTH AFRICA?--AND TO SEEK REPEAL OF THE BYRD AMENDMENT ALLOWING THE U.S. TO IMPORT RHODESIAN CHROME ORE. HE OFFERED TO HELP TRAIN BLACK ADMINISTRATORS, CALLED FOR A TIMETABLE OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE, AND AN END TO APARTHEID IN SOUTH AFRICA. HE OFFERED, IN SHORT, EVERYTHING SHORT OF MILITARY SUPPORT.

"SMITH IN BLACKFACE

"AFRICANS WHO TRUST HIM--NOT ALL DO, OF COURSE, AS CANCELLATION OF THE GHANAIN STOP SHOWS--CAN HARDLY HELP BE IMPRESSED. CERTAINLY MR. SMITH WAY. EVEN AS MR. KISSINGER SPOKE, THE RHODESIAN PREMIER WAS IMPOSING CENSORSHIP AND PUTTING ON BLACKFACE BY NAMING A FEW UNCLE TOMS TO HIS CABINET.

"STILL, MANY QUESTIONS REMAIN. WHAT IF THE U.S. FAILS TO PRODUCE ON THE BYRD AMENDMENT? WHAT IF THE TRANSITION TO MAJORITY RULE DOES NOT COME PEACEFULLY? WHAT IF THE CUBANS STILL IN ANGOLA SHOULD BE INVITED INTO NAMIBIA OR RHODESIA?

IN THESE CASES, MR. KISSINGER MUST MAKE THE MOST OF IT. WARS ARE ENDED WITH NEGOTIATION OF SOME SORT, AND NEGOTIATION IS WHAT THE SECRETARY IS PRESSING NOW. HE IS TAKING A SHORT-RANGE AND A LONG-RANGE VIEW AND TRYING TO ESTABLISH A POLICY FOR THE NEXT CONFUSING DECADE AND PERHAPS LONGER.

"IN BASING THAT POLICY ON THE BEST IN THE AMERICAN TRADITION AND STRESSING THE COMMUNITY OF INTEREST WITH AFRICAN STATES INSTEAD OF GLOBAL CONFRONTATION, HE IS DOING ALL ONE MAN CAN. WITH HENRY KISSINGER, THAT IS MORE THAN MOST."

2. LA PRESS OF APRIL 28 CARRIED A SIGNED EDITORIAL WHICH IN ENCAPSULATED TRANSLATION SAID IN EFFECT:
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KISSINGER'S VISIT TO AFRICA SHOWS A CHANGED U.S. ATTITUDE TOWARD THE IMPORTANT CHANGES WHICH HAVE TAKEN PLACE IN AFRICA DURING THE LAST 25 YEARS. OBSERVANT AMERICANS HAVE FOR SOME TIME FELT THAT THE U.S. COULD NOT IGNORE THE TENDENCIES TOWARD LIBERATION IN ASIA AND AFRICA. HOWEVER, IT TOOK THE ANGOLAN CRISIS TO BRING HOME THE FACT THAT NOT ONLY THE USSR AND CHINA BUT ALSO CUBA ARE BUSILY DEVELOPING FRIENDSHIPS IN A CONTINENT WHICH CARRIES INCREASINGLY MORE WEIGHT IN THE UN AND

OTHER INTERNATIONAL BODIES. THE U.S. MUST DO THE SAME IF IT DOESN'T WANT TO BE LEFT OUR "IN THE COLD".

ALL AFRICAN LEADERS ARE NOT RADICAL MARXISTS. MEN LIKE MACHEL, KAUNDA AND NYERERE FEEL CLOSER TO THE U.S. THAN THEY DO TO THE USSR, BUT THEY WILL EXPECT MORE THAN ANTI-CUBAN PROPAGANDA FROM MR. KISSINGER. THE U.S. HAS MADE MANY ERRORS SINCE IT BECAME A WORLD POWER, BUT HAS ALSO DONE MUCH GOOD. IT REMAINS, IN THE EYES OF MANY, THE MODEL TO BE FOLLOWED AND THE PARTNER TO DEAL WITH.

MR. KISSINGER APPARENTLY FEELS THAT THE U.S. MUST NOW LOOK TO THE FUTURE RATHER THAN TO THE PAST. FOLLOWING HIS LUSAKA STATEMENT THAT WASHINGTON FAVORED THE COMING TO POWER OF THE BLACK MAJORITY IN RHODESIA, IAN SMITH APPOINTED SEVERAL BLACKS TO HIS CABINET. WAS THIS A SIMPLE COINCIDENCE?

SINCE THE START OF HIS TRIP, MR. KISSINGER SEEMS TO HAVE DONE MORE LISTENING THAN TALKING. THAT'S A GOOD SIGN.
HARPER

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